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## THE MADRID MANUSCRIPT OF THE SPANISH GAIL FRAGMENTS. II<sup>1</sup>

On f. 213 follows *La vida de los sanctos padres*.

Begins: Aqui comiença el libro que fabla de la mesquindat de la condicion humanal e fue conpuesto por uno que era diacono. E en este libro se contienen de los amonestamientos e de las vidas de los sanctos padres. Ay en el veynte e tres capitulos, aunque non estan aqui todos.

Pregunto uno al abat Antonio: "Que guardare para aplazer a Dios?" Rrespondio el viejo [e] dixo: "Guarda lo que te mando. Doquier que vayas, ave sienpre a Dios delante los tus ojos."

The story just quoted is taken from *De vitis Patrum liber quintus*,<sup>2</sup> sive *Verba seniorum*, auctore Graeco incerto, interprete Pelagio S.R.E. diacono, Migne, LXXIII, c. 851. The Latin text (c. 855) reads:

Interrogavit quidam abbatem Antonium ..., dicens: Quid custodiens placebo Deo? Et respondens senex dixit: Quae mando tibi, custodi. Quocunque vadis, Deum semper habe prae oculis tuis: et in his quae agis, adhibe testificationem sanctarum Scripturarum; et in quocunque loco sederis, non cito movearis. Haec tria custodi, et salvus eris.

I offer here an additional specimen of the Spanish text (f. 225):

¶ Era un hermitano en las partes mas baxas de Egipto, e este era muy nonbrado, que estava señero en aquel yermo. Segund la obra de Satanas puso en coraçon a una mala mugier desonesta que fuese a el. E ella fuese e dixolo a unos mançebos: "Que me daredes, e desporne aquel hermitano?" E posieron con ella de le dar una cosa sabida. E ella salio a la tarde e vyno a la çela del hermitano, como que andava errada, e ferio a la puerta. Salio el hermitano e quando la vyo, fue turbado e dixole: "Como veniste aca?" Dezia ella como llorando: "Ando errada e llegue aqui." E el con grand piedat metiola en el \*\* de la çela [f. 225 v] e cerro la puerta. Mas aquella malaventurada llorava e non quedava de llorar ¶ deziendo: "Abbat, las bestias me comeran aqui." E el conturboso [e] dezia: "Donde me vyno esta yra?" E abrio la puerta e mandola entrar dentro. E començo luego el diablo de aguyjonar el su coraçon con saetas en ella. E quando el entendio

<sup>1</sup> See *Modern Philology*, XVIII, 147-56.

<sup>2</sup> The *Liber quintus* has eighteen libelli.

que eran aguyjones del diablo, dezia: "Las carreras del diablo tenieblas son, mas del fijo de Dios claridat e luz de vida son." E levantose e encendio la candela e enflamado dezia: "Los que fazen tales cosas van a los tormentos. E prueba a ty mismo sy podras sufrir el fuego perdurable." E pusso el debdo mas pequeno en la candela, e ardia el dedo. Mas non lo sentia por el grand encendimiento de la codicia carnal. E faziendo asy fasta la mañana encendio todos los dedos. Mas aquella malaventurada veyendo lo que el fazia uvo muy grand miedo e tornose tal como piedra. ¶ E en la mañana venieron los mançebos que la avyan enbiada al monte, e llamaron a la puerta. Dixieron: "Vyno aca ayer tarde una tal mugier?" Dixo el ermitano: "Sy, ela do duerme." E entraron e fallaronla muerta. E descubriose el manto e mostroles las manos. Dixo: "Vet que me fizo esta fija del diablo, que me fizo perder todos mis dedos!" E conto todo el fecho, como fuera. Dezia en su coraçon: "Non es de rrendir mal por mal; que asy es escripto." E fizo a Dios oracion por ella. E rresucitola Dios por su ruego, e convertiose ella e vyvyo castramiente todo el tienpo de la su vida.

The Latin text (c. 883) reads:

*Solitarius quidam erat in inferioribus Aegypti, et hic erat nominatissimus, quia solus in ecclesia sedebat in deserto loco. Et ecce, juxta operationem Satanae, mulier quaedam inhonesta audiens de eo, dicebat juvenibus: Quid mihi vultis dare, et depono istum solitarium vestrum? Illi autem constituerunt ei certum quid quod darent ei. Quae egressa vespere, venit velut errans ad cellam ejus; et cum pulsaret ad cellam, egressus est ille; et videns eam turbatus est, dicens: quomodo huc advenisti? Illa autem velut plorans, dicebat: Errando huc veni. Qui cum miseratione viscerum pulsaretur, introduxit eam in atrium cellulae suae, et ipse intravit interius in cellam suam, et clausit. Et ecce infelix illa clamavit, dicens: Abba, ferae me comedent hic. Ille autem iterum turbatus est, timens etiam iudicium Dei, dicebat: Unde mihi venit ira haec? Et aperiens ostium, introduxit eam intro. Coepit autem diabolus velut sagittis stimulare cor ejus in eam. Qui cum intellexisset diaboli esse stimulos, dicebat in semetipso: Viae inimici tenebrae sunt; Filius autem Dei lux est. . . . Surgens ergo accendit lucernam. Et cum inflammaretur desiderio, dicebat: Quoniam qui talia agunt, in tormentis vadunt. . . . Proba ergo teipsum ex hoc, si potes sustinere ignem aeternum. Et mittebat digitum suum in lucernam. Quem cum incendisset, et arderet, non sentiebat propter nimiam flammam concupiscentiae carnalis. Et ita usque mane faciens, incendit omnes digitos. Illa autem infelix videns quod faciebat, a timore velut lapis facta est. Et venientes juvenes mane ad monachum illum, dicebant: Venit hic mulier sero? Ille autem dixit: Etiam; ecce ubi dormit. Et intrantes invenerunt eam mortuam. Et dicunt: Abba, mortua est. Tunc ille recutiens palliolum suum, quo utebatur, ostendit eis manus suas, dicens: Ecce quod mihi fecit filia ista diaboli, perdidit omnes digitos meos. Et narrans eis quod factum*

fuera, dicebat: Scriptum est, ne reddas malum pro malo. . . . Et faciens orationem, suscitavit eam. Quae conversa, caste egit residuum tempus vitae suae.

This is a very well-known story.<sup>1</sup> The scholars who have discussed it most recently are probably Menéndez Pidal, *Studies in Honor of A. Marshall Elliott*, II (1911), 261, and Wendland, *De fabellis antiquis earumque ad christianos propagatione*, 1911, 15. Wendland refers to the study by Rabbow, *Die Legende des Martinian*, Wiener Studien, XVII (1895), 253.

The *Vida de los santos padres* ends on f. 237<sup>v</sup>:

Un onbre sancto oyo que peccara uno e lloro amargosamientre. Dixo: "Tu oy e yo cras." \*\* "Enpero que alguno ante ti pecco, non<sup>2</sup> lo judgues. Mas judga a ti por mas peccador que a otro."

This story is from *De vitis Patrum liber septimus, sive Verba seniorum auctore Graeco incerto, interprete Paschasio S.R.E. diacono*, Migne, LXXIII, c. 1025. The Latin text (c. 1039) reads:

Unus ex sanctis Patribus videns alium negligentem, flevit amare, dicens: Vae mihi, quia quomodo hodie iste peccat, sic et ego crastino. Et monebat discipulum suum, dicens: Quamvis aliquis graviter praesente te peccaverit, ne condemnes eum; sed sic apud te sit, tanquam tu plus eo pecces, quamvis ille saecularis sit, nisi forte Deum blasphemaverit, quod est haereticorum.

Beer, *Handschriftenschätze Spaniens*, notes the following Latin MSS of the *Vitae patrum*: pp. 124 Celanova—*Vitae Patrum de Graeco in Latinum translatae per Paschasium ad Martinum Presbyterum et Abbatem*—s. XIII<sup>3</sup>; 224 Eslonza—*Vitas Patrum*—1099; 252 San Juan de las Abadesas—1458; 361 Montes—915; 370 Oña—s. XII; 412 Ripoll—1046; 455 Silos—? ; 462 Sobrado—956; 541 Vega—950; 543 Vich—1457; 557 Viniagio—873. To these is to be added a MS formerly belonging to the Conde de Haro and now in the National Library. Paz y Mélia, *Rev. Arch. Bibl. Mus.*, I (1897), 66, gives the following description: Fol. 1.<sup>o</sup>, 1.<sup>a</sup> col. Continentur in hoc libro adhortationes sanctorum patrum ad profectum perfectionis monachor. Tabla.—2.<sup>a</sup> col.: Incipiunt adhortationes sanctorum

<sup>1</sup> Noted e.g. at least eight times in Herbert: 20, 66, 460, 468, 517, 563, 583, 656.

<sup>2</sup> MS. peqnō.

<sup>3</sup> This number is either the date of the MS, or the date of its presentation to some convent, etc., or the date of the catalogue from which the MS is cited. The range of these dates indicates in general the popularity of the work.

patrum. Emp. Interrogavit quidam beatum Antonium dicens: . . . <sup>1</sup> Letra del siglo XIV. Vitela. [82] Hojas. . . . Other MSS of which we have no record probably existed. It is also likely that the work was translated early into Spanish as into French, English, German, and Italian. I find, however, no trace of a Spanish translation in MS. The first printed editions of which I know are those of Zaragoza [c. 1491] (Haebler, *Zentralbl. f. Bibl.*, XXVI, 155)<sup>2</sup>, of Salamanca, 1498 (*Cat. Salvá*, II, 824=Haebler, *Bibliografía ibérica del siglo XV*, 157, No. 336), of Sevilla, 1538 (*Cat. Ticknor*, 406: a translation into "fine old Castilian"), and of Toledo, 1553 (*Cat. Ticknor*, 172).<sup>3</sup>

The great histories of Spanish literature are surprisingly silent on this subject. Ticknor, though he possessed the last two copies mentioned, nowhere in his History speaks of the *Vitae patrum*. The Spanish and the German translations of Ticknor are also silent. Rios (IV, 308) in discussing the sources of [Clemente Sanchez] *Libro de los Enxemplos*, among which, according to the author's own repeated statement, are *Las Vidas de los santos Padres*, misses a good chance to tell us something about the work. He lets a second opportunity pass by in VI, 45, where he deals with translations of such works as the *Legenda aurea* and the *Conlationes patrum*. Baist (414) mentions the *Vitae patrum* only in connection with Clemente Sanchez. Finally, the author of the *Orígenes de la Novela* gives (I, CIII) merely as one of the sources of the *Libro de exemplos* the *Vidas y colaciones de los Santos Padres*. I am afraid that he has merged here two different works into one: *Vitae patrum* and *Johannis Cassiani Conlationes* XXIII.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A French MS (*Hist. litt.*, XXXIII, 323) begins in a similar way: *Ci comencent les enhortemens des sains Peres e les perfectiones des moines lesquels sains Jeromes translata et mist de grec en latin. Uns hons demanda a l'abbé Antoine et dist: . . .*

<sup>2</sup> The translator was Gonzalo García de Santa María. The work is attributed to Saint Hieronymus. P. Meyer, *Hist. litt.*, XXXIII, 315: On mettait fréquemment sous le nom de saint Jérôme l'ensemble des écrits variés que l'on désignait par le titre vague de *Vitae* ou *Vitas patrum*.

By the way, neither the *Caton en latin y en romance*, of which Haebler speaks on page 154 of his article, nor the *Arte de bien morir*, bound together with the *Caton* and described by Haebler, *Bibl. ibér.*, 356, was discovered by P. Fernandez. It was I who first called the attention of P. Fernandez to these works. Cf. my *Notes on two Old Spanish Versions of the Disticha Catonis*, pp. 11-12.

<sup>3</sup> Under Hieronymus.

<sup>4</sup> For Cassianus in Spain, see Beer, 615; for Catalan translations, see also Morel-Fatio, Gröber's *Grundr.*, II, II, 90, and Schiff, *La bibliothèque du marquis de Santillane*, 160; for Portuguese translations, C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, Gröber's *Grundr.*, II, II, 212.

On f. 237<sup>v</sup> follows *El libro de Frey Johan de Rrocacisa*.

Begins: En el nonbre de Dios. Aqui comiença el libro que conpuso Frey Juan de Rrocacisa, frayre de la orden de Sant Francisco, de las cosas maravillosas y<sup>1</sup> espantos que han de (venir e) acontecer<sup>2</sup> en los tienpos que han de [venir], el qual llamo: Buen amigo, non te partas de mi en el tienpo de la tribulacion. El comienço del qual es este que se sygue: A vos, Frey Pedro, maestro de fisica, de la orden de Sant Francisco, yo, Frey Juan, frayre sobredicho, de la misma orden, rrequerido por vos e rrogado<sup>3</sup> que vos declarase e denunciase algunas cosas de los spantos e temores que han de venir çedo y en breve tienpo sobre todo el mundo, digovos e fagovos de cierto que. . . .

Ends on f. 251: El qual tratado e cada una cosa de quanto en el es, dize e fabla homildosamente so hemienda e correpcion del sancto padre e cardenales, patriarchas e arçobispos e obispos, e[n] enxalçamiento de la sancta madre yglesia de Rroma e de la corte çelestial. Amen. Deo graçias.

The present text is a translation of Jean de la Roche-Taillé's<sup>4</sup> *Vade mecum in tribulatione*, written in 1356<sup>5</sup> and printed (only once) by Brown, *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum & fugiendarum*, II, Londini, 1690, 496.<sup>6</sup>

On the early acquaintance of the Iberian Peninsula with Jean de la Roche-Taillé, I may quote from Morel-Fatio (Gröber's *Grundr.*, II, II, 111): "Wie es scheint, beschäftigten sich die Könige Aragons im 14. und 15. Jh. hauptsächlich deshalb mit Astrologie, weil sie sich der Genauigkeit gewisser Weissagungen und Prophezeiungen vergewissern wollten, welche sog. Erleuchtete und Schwindler, wie der

<sup>1</sup> This form does not occur in the texts which I shall publish.

<sup>2</sup> MS *acontesçer*.

<sup>3</sup> MS *rrogase*.

<sup>4</sup> Thus I write the name with *L'Intermédiaire*, I, 205b. Other forms are Roche-taillade (Froissart [Kervyn de Lettenhove], Döllinger), Roche Tranchée (Ulstade-Brunet), Roquetaillade (Bayle, Chevalier, Wetzter-Welte, Buchberger). The ordinary Latin form is *Rupescissa* (Brown, Fabricius, Brunet, Graesse).

<sup>5</sup> *Vade mecum*, 497.

<sup>6</sup> The *Vade mecum* is preceded by the same author's *Prophetia* (494), written in 1349 and frequently printed since the beginning of the sixteenth century as a part of the *Mirabilis liber qui prophetias Reuelationesque nec non res mirandas preteritas presentes et futuras aperte demonstrat*. Together with the other Latin parts of the *Mirabilis liber*, the *Prophetia* has been translated into modern French and printed at Paris, 1831. Thus I glean from *Cat. Rothschild*, I, 119, whose compiler, however, is wrong in identifying the author of the *Prophetia* with "Jean de La Roche-Taillée ... cardinal (m. en 1437)" and crediting the latter with the authorship of *De consideratione quintae essentiae rerum*.

Franziskaner Johann von Roquetaillade, Lasa, Turmeda, Cervera u.a. veröffentlichten und in grosser Anzahl verbreiteten." A note to this statement reads: "Die Prophezeiungen von Rocatallada, Lasa und Turmeda, in katalanischer Sprache, sind in eine Hs. des 15. Jhs. der Bibliothek von Carpentras eingetragen (Lambert, l.c., I, 174).<sup>1</sup>

The earliest references to Jean de la Roche-Taillée in Spanish literature as also the only ones I have, are these: *Del fuerte leon suso contenido dise el Merlin, concuerda fray Juan*, Villasandino, C. Baena, 176, and *Çesarán muchos profetas De Merlin et Rocaçisa*, Juan Alfonso de Baena, *Antología*, II, 261.

On f. 251–282 follows *Josep Abarimatia*.

On f. 282<sup>v</sup>–296 follows *Merlin*.

On f. 296<sup>v</sup> follow *Los articulos e fe de los cristianos*.

Begin: Titulo de la sancta fe e crehencia de los fieles cristianos. La santa fe de los cristianos es tener e creher firmamente los quatorze<sup>2</sup> articulos: VII. de la divinidat e siete de la humanidat. . . .

End on f. 298: E destos sacramentos los tres non se doblan e son: batismo, confirmacion, orden de clerigo. ¶ E los quatro se doblan: penitencia, cuerpo de Dios, extrema uncion, matrimonio.

I have not succeeded in finding anything on this text.

On f. 298<sup>v</sup>–300<sup>v</sup> follows *Laçarote*.

*Josep Abarimatia*, *Merlin*, and *Laçarote* will be published by me in a year or two.

K. PIETSCH

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

<sup>1</sup> Lambert is not accessible to me. A Catalan translation of another of Jean de la Roche-Taillée's works is described by Morel-Fatio, *Cat. des mss. espagnols et des mss. portugais [de la Bibl. Nat.]*, 36 b.

<sup>2</sup> MS quatoreze.